

ONE

PREPARATION FOR
WAR

1. *The Need To Adapt Our Military Apparatus to Modern Warfare*

The defense of national territory is the *raison d'être* of an army; it should always be capable of accomplishing this objective.

Since the liberation of France in 1945, however, the French Army has not been able to halt the collapse of our Empire. And yet, the effort the country has made for the army is unprecedented. No French military man ought to rest until we have created an army at last capable of assuring the defense of our national territory.

We still persist in studying a type of warfare that no longer exists and that we shall never fight again, while we pay only passing attention to the war we lost in Indochina and the one we are about to lose in Algeria. Yet the abandonment of Indochina or of Algeria is just as important for France as would be the loss of a metropolitan province.

The result of this shortcoming is that the army is not prepared to confront an adversary employing arms and methods the army itself ignores. It has, therefore, no chance of winning.

It is a fact that in Indochina, despite a marked superiority in materiel and in troops, we were beaten. From one campaign to another, our commanders tried to drive the Vietminh into a classic pitched battle, the only kind we knew how to fight, in hope that our superiority in materiel would allow an easy victory. The Vietminh always knew

how to elude such maneuvers. When they finally accepted the conventional battle so vainly sought for several years, it was only because they had assembled on the battlefield resources superior to our own. That was at Dien Bien Phu in May, 1954.

Despite the record, our army is employing, with few exceptions, the identical combat procedures in North Africa. We are trying in the course of repeated complex operations to seize an adversary who eludes us. The results obtained bear no relation to the resources and efforts expended. In fact, we are only dispersing, rather than destroying, the attacked bands.

Our military machine reminds one of a pile driver attempting to crush a fly, indefatigably persisting in repeating its efforts.

The inability of the army to adapt itself to changed circumstances has heavy consequences. It gives credence to the belief that our adversaries, who represent only weak forces, are invincible and that, sooner or later, we shall have to accept their conditions for peace. It encourages the diffusion of dangerously erroneous ideas, which eventually become generally accepted. France is accused of having conducted rigged elections in Algeria, and one is led to believe that those carried out under the aegis of the (Algerian) National Liberation Front (F.L.N.) would be genuine. At the same time, it is well known that any threat that would subsequently confront the voters would be effective in quite a different way from the former, merely administrative, pressures.

All this is nonetheless what a large part of our own press tries to tell the public.

We know that it is not at all necessary to have the sympathy of a majority of the people in order to rule them. The right organization can turn the trick.

This is what our adversaries are accomplishing in Algeria. Thanks to a *specially adapted organization* and to appropriate methods of warfare, they have been successful in imposing themselves upon entire populations and in using them, despite their own desires in the matter, against us. Our enemies are submitting us to a kind of hateful extortion, to which we shall have to accede in the end if we cannot destroy the warfare system that confronts us. We would be gravely remiss in our duty if we should permit ourselves to be thus deluded and to abandon the struggle before final victory. We would be sacrificing defenseless populations to unscrupulous enemies.

2. *Modern Warfare Defined*

Since the end of World War II, a new form of warfare has been born. Called at times either *subversive warfare* or *revolutionary warfare*, it differs fundamentally from the wars of the past in that victory is not expected from the clash of two armies on a field of battle. This confrontation, which in times past saw the annihilation of an enemy army in one or more battles, no longer occurs.

Warfare is now an interlocking system of actions—political, economic, psychological, military—that aims at the *overthrow of the established authority in a country and its replacement by another regime*. To achieve this end, the aggressor tries to exploit the internal tensions of the country attacked—ideological, social, religious, economic—any conflict liable to have a profound influence on the population to be conquered. Moreover, in view of the present-day interdependence of nations, any residual grievance within a population, no matter how localized and lacking in scope, will surely be brought by determined adversaries into the framework of the great world conflict. From a localized conflict of secondary origin and importance, they will always attempt sooner or later to bring about a generalized conflict.

On so vast a field of action, traditional armed forces no longer enjoy their accustomed decisive role. Victory no longer depends on one battle over a given terrain. Military operations, as combat actions carried out against opposing

armed forces, are of only limited importance and are never the total conflict.

This is doubtless the reason why the army, traditionally attracted by the purely military aspect of a conflict, has never seriously approached the study of a problem it considers an inferior element in the art of war.

A modern army is first of all one that is capable of winning the conflict in which its country is engaged. And we are certainly at war, because we run the risk of being finally defeated on the ground (as at Dien Bien Phu in May, 1954) and because, in case of such a defeat, we shall have to cede vast territories to our opponents.

The struggle we have been carrying on for fifteen years, in Indochina as well as in Algeria, is truly a war. But what we are involved in is *modern warfare*.

If we want to win, it is in this light that we must consider it from now on.

Studies have been made in many countries of what is called subversive warfare. But they rarely go beyond the stage of guerrilla warfare, which comes closest to the traditional form.

Mindful of the Allied victory in World War II, and perhaps because it is more appealing to study successful combat methods than to dwell upon the reasons for a defeat, only the offensive use of the guerrilla has been considered. But the study of effective countermeasures has been neglected. Some authors have stressed the inadequacy of the means employed against the guerrilla; others have simply counseled reacting against the guerrilla—confronting him with the counter guerrilla to beat him at his own game.

This is to wish to resolve a problem quickly without having duly weighed it.

The subtlest aspects of *modern warfare*, such as the manipulation of populations, have been the subject of recent

studies. But only some of the methods employed by an enemy to consolidate his hold over conquered populations in peacetime have been investigated, in particular the working of psychological action on the masses.

But the rallying of opposition and the study of effective means of protection have been neglected. More exactly, when the enemy's methods and their application have been recognized, propaganda and pressures have always been powerful enough to influence a poorly informed public and to lead it systematically to refuse to study or use the same methods.

We know that the *sine qua non* of victory in *modern warfare* is the unconditional support of a population. According to Mao Tse-tung, it is as essential to the combatant as water to the fish. Such support may be spontaneous, although that is quite rare and probably a temporary condition. If it doesn't exist, it must be secured by every possible means, the most effective of which is *terrorism*.

In *modern warfare*, we are not actually grappling with an army organized along traditional lines, but with a few armed elements acting clandestinely within a population manipulated by a special organization.

Our army in Algeria is in excess of 300,000 men supplied with the most modern equipment; its adversary numbers some 30,000, in general poorly equipped with only light weapons.

If we were to have an opportunity to meet this enemy on the traditional field of battle, a dream vainly pursued for years by many military commanders, victory would be assured in a matter of hours.

The war has lasted more than six years, however, and victory is still uncertain. The problem is more complex.

In seeking a solution, it is essential to realize that in *modern warfare* we are not up against just a few armed bands spread across a given territory, but rather against an

armed clandestine organization whose essential role is to impose its will upon the population. Victory will be obtained only through the complete destruction of that organization. This is the master concept that must guide us in our study of *modern warfare*.

3. An Example of a Clandestine Warfare Organization

One example of a clandestine warfare organization is that operating in the city of Algiers during 1956–57. It was constituted as an autonomous zone by the National Liberation Front (F.L.N.), but was related to the F.L.N. setup throughout Algeria.

The Autonomous Zone of Algiers (Z.A.A.) operated under a council of four members: a political-military leader, a political assistant, a military assistant, and an assistant for external liaison and intelligence. Decisions were made in common, but the vote of the political-military leader counted heaviest.

The city and its suburbs were divided into three regions—Central Algiers, Algiers West, and Algiers East—which operated under regional councils identical to the zonal council. Each region was divided into sectors, which, in turn, were subdivided into districts. In all, the Z.A.A.'s three regions comprised ten sectors, or thirty-four districts.

The organization of the Z.A.A. contained two distinct elements: the National Liberation Front (F.L.N.), or political arm, and the National Liberation Army (A.L.N.), or military arm. Both were integrated into the same geographical breakdown, but were highly compartmented and were united only at the regional and zonal levels.

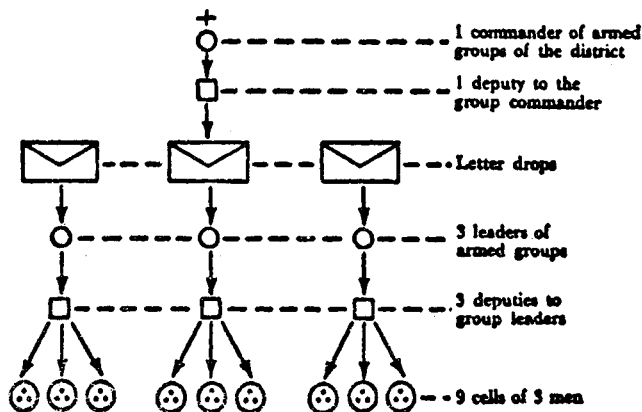
Units of the A.L.N. and F.L.N. worked side by side in

each district, but the regional council was responsible for coordination of their action.

The political organization (F.L.N.) of each district—based on the demi-cell of three men, then the cell, the demi-group, the group, and the sub-district—was under the command of a district leader, who controlled 127 men (see the table below).

<i>Demi-Cell</i>	<i>Cell</i>	<i>Demi-Group</i>	<i>Group</i>	<i>Sub-District</i>	<i>District</i>
1 Demi-Cell	2 Demi-Cells plus a Cell Leader	2 Cells plus a Demi-Group Leader	2 Demi-Groups plus a Group Leader	2 Groups plus a Sub-District Leader	2 Sub-Districts plus a District Leader
3 men	7 men	15 men	31 men	63 men	127 men

The military organization (A.L.N.) of the district consisted of 35 armed men. The district commander and his deputy were at the head of three armed groups, each headed by a leader and deputy and composed of three cells of three men each.



(The political organization had at its disposal some armed shock groups of its own that were not part of the A.L.N.; they constituted the F.L.N.'s "police" and were

charged with the execution of sentences pronounced by their judiciary.)

The zonal council assistant for external liaison and intelligence had at his disposal a certain number of committees in which were grouped the F.L.N.'s intellectuals. The following were the principal committees and their duties.

- Liaison Committee—maintained contact with the *wilayas*, or major military districts (Algeria was divided by the F.L.N. into six *wilayas*); with the Committee for External Coordination (C.C.E.), forerunner of the present Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic (G.P.R.A.); and with the Exterior: Tunisia, Morocco, France.

- Information Committee—at that time the embryo of the special services.

- Editorial Committee—maintained United Nations dossiers, "reprisal" dossiers, relations with the intellectuals, documentation for the French and other foreign press, etc.

- Justice Committee—general surveillance of French citizens of Moslem origin (F.M.A.); judged cases between Moslems in civil and criminal law, imposed various fines, etc.

- Financial Committee—gathered funds from the population at large, using units of the F.L.N., and, in larger amounts, directly from big companies, banks, leading merchants, etc.

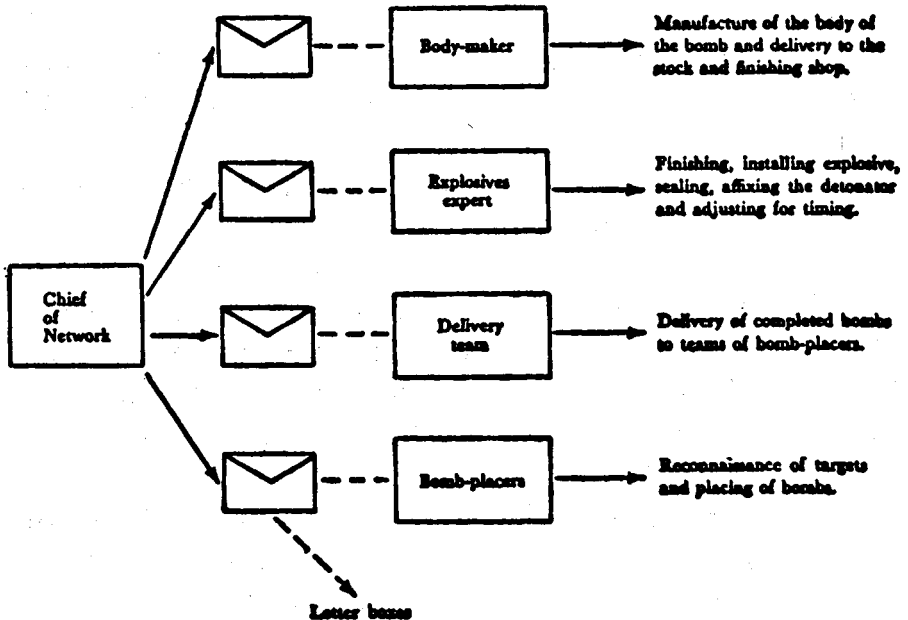
- Health Committee—embryonic in Algiers. The sick and wounded were mostly cared for in secret in the hospitals of the city.

- Trade Union Committee—maintained permanent contact with various syndical organizations, such as the General Union of Algerian Workers (U.G.T.A.) and the General Union of Algerian Merchants (U.G.C.A.).

A final important element of the whole Z.A.A. organiza-

tion was the bomb-throwing network directly responsible to the zonal council. Carefully kept apart from other elements of the organization, the network was broken down into a number of quite distinct and compartmented branches, in communication only with the network chief through a system of letter boxes.

A chart of the organization of the bomb-throwing network is shown below.



In the city of Algiers alone, the clandestine warfare organization comprised approximately 1,200 armed men (A.L.N.), and 4,500 persons unarmed or semiarmed (F.L.N.). At that time, there were scarcely a thousand police, equipped only to fight common criminals in time of peace. Taken by surprise by an adversary of which it was totally ignorant, the police had no chance of coming out on top. The army's intervention was therefore unavoidable.

A clandestine organization of such size and complexity

requires for its creation both time and a precise technique.

The higher cadres, up to regional level, had all received a more or less thorough Marxist training; they had entered the organization voluntarily.

The lower cadres and the rank-and-file were at first recruited from the seamier elements of the city, delinquents or habitual criminals. By the very fact of their pasts, they were already quite well adapted to the missions they were going to be assigned.

Later on, the organization received a constant influx of new members which kept up or augmented its forces. The manner in which they were recruited has been revealed to us through numerous interrogations. To the question "How did you enter the A.L.N.?"—which was often put to them—most of the young terrorists replied:

"I was a good worker and was earning an honest living. One day, I was stopped by a fellow who insisted I pay a certain sum to the F.L.N. At first I refused, and was beaten up by the three men he had with him. I paid. The next month the same sum was asked. I paid it without argument. Some time later, I became a collector myself. I received a list of persons who were to contribute and a small armed team to protect me during the collection. Then, as I was athletic and in good health, I was asked to enter into the armed organization—the A.L.N.—the Army of National Liberation. I wanted to refuse, but a few pointed threats made me accept. From that time on I was lost, because to be admitted to the A.L.N., one first had to prove his worth; that is, to carry out an armed attack in the city. The conditions under which this was to be accomplished were explained to me. One evening, at a fixed time and an appointed place, an individual unknown to me was to give me a loaded weapon with the mission to kill the first person I came across. I was then to flee, dropping the weapon into a trashcan that the unknown person had pointed out to me.

I did what was required of me and, three days later, I entered as a member into a cell of the A.L.N.”

It was in this manner in the month of January, 1957, that Doctor X of Algiers was assassinated by a young man who did not even know the name of his victim.

The means of putting pressure on the citizenry were quite varied. The following is an example of one used by the members of the zonal council to assure their own security:

When one or several members of the council wanted to install themselves in a house in the Casbah, they first sent a team of masons to construct a hiding place there. The masons immediately gathered together the people in the building and told them, in substance: “You are soon to receive important personages. You will be responsible for their security with your lives.” And sometimes, to indicate that this was no idle threat, a burst of gunfire cut down on the spot the residents who seemed to them most suspect. From then on, the movements of the residents were strictly controlled; never could more than half of them be outside at a time. The secret was well kept.

Yassef Saadi, political-military commissar of the Z.A.A. was able to install himself within 200 yards of the office of the army commandant of the Algiers sector and remain there without being found for several months before his arrest.

4. *Terrorism—The Principal Weapon of Modern Warfare*

The war in Indochina and the one in Algeria have demonstrated the basic weapon that permits our enemies to fight effectively with few resources and even to defeat a traditional army.

This weapon is *terrorism*.

Terrorism in the service of a clandestine organization devoted to manipulating the population is a recent development. After being used in Morocco in 1954, it reached its full development in Algiers in December, 1956, and January, 1957. The resultant surprise gave our adversaries an essential advantage, which may have been decisive. In effect, a hundred organized terrorists were all that was necessary to cause us to give up the game quickly to the Moroccans.

Terrorism, then, is a *weapon of warfare*, which can neither be ignored nor minimized. It is as a weapon of warfare that we should study it.

The goal of *modern warfare* is control of the populace, and terrorism is a particularly appropriate weapon, since it aims directly at the inhabitant. In the street, at work, at home, the citizen lives continually under the threat of violent death. In the presence of this permanent danger surrounding him, he has the depressing feeling of being an isolated and defenseless target. The fact that public au-

thority and the police are no longer capable of ensuring his security adds to his distress. He loses confidence in the state whose inherent mission it is to guarantee his safety. He is more and more drawn to the side of the terrorists, who alone are able to protect him.

The intended objective, which is to cause the population to vacillate is thus attained.

What characterizes modern terrorism, and makes for its basic strength, is the slaughter of generally defenseless persons. The terrorist operates within a familiar legal framework, while avoiding the ordinary risks taken by the common criminal, let alone by soldiers on the field of battle, or even by partisans facing regular troops.

The ordinary criminal kills a certain individual, usually only one, for a specific purpose. Having achieved it, he may no longer constitute a danger to society. His crime is based on an easily discernible motive—robbery, vengeance, etc. To succeed, he quite often has to run risks sufficient to cause his arrest. His crime is thus carried out within a known framework. Well-defined police procedure can easily be applied, which takes whatever time is necessary to obtain justice, while respecting the rights of both the individual and society.

The soldier meets his adversary on the field of battle and in uniform. He fights within a framework of traditional rules that both sides respect. Aware of the dangers that confront him, the soldier has always had a high regard for his opponent, because both run the same risks. When the battle is over, the dead and the wounded of the two camps are treated with the same humanity; prisoners are withdrawn as quickly as possible from the battlefield and are simply kept from fighting again until the end of the war.

For the partisan and the irregular who oppose a regular army, the very fact that they violate the rules of warfare in fighting without a uniform (avoiding the risks involved)

deprives them of the protection of these same rules. If taken prisoner while armed, they may be shot on the spot.

But the case of the terrorist is quite otherwise. Not only does he carry on warfare without uniform, but he attacks, far from a field of battle, only unarmed civilians who are incapable of defending themselves and who are normally protected under the rules of warfare. Surrounded by a vast organization, which prepares his task and assists him in its execution, which assures his withdrawal and his protection, he runs practically no risks—neither that of retaliation by his victims nor that of having to appear before a court of justice. When it has been decided to kill someone sometime somewhere, with the sole purpose of terrorizing the populace and strewing a certain number of bodies along the streets of a city or on country roads, it is quite easy under existing laws to escape the police.

In Algiers, during 1956, the F.L.N. set up the clandestine warfare organization already described, and it was impossible for the police forces to arrest a single terrorist. In the face of the ever increasing number of attacks, the police ought to have acknowledged their impotence and appealed to the army.

Without the massive intervention of the army (in particular of the Tenth Parachute Division) at the beginning of 1957, the entire city would have fallen into the hands of the F.L.N., the loss carrying with it the immediate abandonment of all Algeria.

In a large city, police forces can partly restrict the action of the terrorists and delay their complete control of the populace. Obligated to act secretly, the organization's functioning will be slow and difficult. Massive and drastic action by the army may even be able to stop it entirely, as in Algiers in 1957.

But in the unprotected regions that comprise the major

portion of the national territory, particularly the vast area of inhabited countryside where police forces are small or nonexistent, terrorist action encounters no opposition at the beginning of a conflict and is most effective.

Isolated raids first reveal the existence of a partially organized movement. These attract attention and promote caution among the populace. Then, selective terrorism begins to eliminate lesser persons of influence, petty bureaucrats and various police officials who did not understand the first warnings or were slow in reacting to them. Administrative cadres are restrained or eliminated. The silence and collusion of the unprotected inhabitants have been won. Agents of the enemy have a free hand to organize and to manipulate the population at will.

From then on, within the midst of these people taken over by terrorism, the small armed bands whose task it is to wage guerrilla warfare are able to install themselves, in the phrase of Mao Tse-tung, like fish in water. Fed, informed, protected, they are able to strike without difficulty against the forces of order.

Modern warfare requires the unconditional support of the populace. This support must be maintained at any price. Here again, terrorism plays its role.

An unceasing watch is exercised over all the inhabitants. Any suspicion or indication of lack of submission is punishable by death, quite often preceded by horrible torture.

The atrocities committed by the F.L.N. in Algeria to maintain its hold over the populace are innumerable. I will cite but one example to demonstrate the degree to which they were carried in certain areas.

In the month of September, 1958, the forces of order took possession of the files of a military tribunal of one of the regions of the F.L.N. In the canton of Michelet alone, in the arrondissement (district) of Fort-National in Ka-

bylle, more than 2,000 inhabitants were condemned to death and executed between November 1, 1954, and April 17, 1957.

Quite clearly, terrorism is a weapon of warfare, and it is important to stress it.

Although quite old, until recently it has been utilized only by isolated revolutionaries for spectacular attacks, principally against high political personalities, such as sovereigns, chiefs of state, and ministers. Even in Indochina, where guerrillas achieved such a remarkable degree of development that it permitted the Vietminh finally to win, terrorism has never been systematically employed. For example, the plastic bomb attacks outside the municipal theater in Saigon, which caused the greatest number of victims, were not carried out by the Vietminh (see Graham Greene's book *The Quiet American*).

The terrorist should not be considered an ordinary criminal. Actually, he fights within the framework of his organization, without personal interest, for a cause he considers noble and for a respectable ideal, the same as the soldiers in the armies confronting him. On the command of his superiors, he kills without hatred individuals unknown to him, with the same indifference as the soldier on the battlefield. His victims are often women and children, almost always defenseless individuals taken by surprise. But during a period of history when the bombing of open cities is permitted, and when two Japanese cities were razed to hasten the end of the war in the Pacific, one cannot with good cause reproach him.*

The terrorist has become a soldier, like the aviator or the infantryman.

* Yassef Saadi, chief of the Autonomous Zone of Algiers (Z.A.A.), said after his arrest: "I had my bombs planted in the city because I didn't have the aircraft to transport them. But they caused fewer victims than the artillery and air bombardments of our mountain villages. I'm in a war, you cannot blame me."

But the aviator flying over a city knows that antiaircraft shells can kill or maim him. The infantryman wounded on the battlefield accepts physical suffering, often for long hours, when he falls between the lines and it is impossible to rescue him. It never occurs to him to complain and to ask, for example, that his enemy renounce the use of the rifle, the shell, or the bomb. If he can, he goes back to a hospital knowing this to be his lot. The soldier, therefore, admits the possibility of physical suffering as part of the job. The risks he runs on the battlefield and the suffering he endures are the price of the glory he receives.

The terrorist claims the same honors while rejecting the same obligations. His kind of organization permits him to escape from the police, his victims cannot defend themselves, and the army cannot use the power of its weapons against him because he hides himself permanently within the midst of a population going about its peaceful pursuits.

But he must be made to realize that, when he is captured, he cannot be treated as an ordinary criminal, nor like a prisoner taken on the battlefield. What the forces of order who have arrested him are seeking is not to punish a crime, for which he is otherwise not personally responsible, but, as in any war, the destruction of the enemy army or its surrender. Therefore he is not asked details about himself or about attacks that he may or may not have committed and that are not of immediate interest, but rather for precise information about his organization. In particular, each man has a superior whom he knows; he will first have to give the name of this person, along with his address, so that it will be possible to proceed with the arrest without delay.

No lawyer is present for such an interrogation. If the prisoner gives the information requested, the examination is quickly terminated; if not, specialists must force his secret from him. Then, as a soldier, he must face the suffering, and perhaps the death, he has heretofore managed to

avoid. The terrorist must accept this as a condition inherent in his trade and in the methods of warfare that, with full knowledge, his superiors and he himself have chosen.* Once the interrogation is finished, however, the terrorist can take his place among soldiers. From then on, he is a prisoner of war like any other, kept from resuming hostilities until the end of the conflict.

It would be as useless and unjust to charge him with the attacks he was able to carry out, as to hold responsible the infantryman or the airman for the deaths caused by the weapons they use. According to Clausewitz:

War . . . is an act of violence intended to compel an opponent to fulfill our will. . . . Self-imposed restrictions, almost imperceptible and hardly worth mentioning, termed usages of International Law, accompany it without impairing its power. Violence . . . is therefore the means; the compulsory submission of the enemy to our will is the ultimate object. . . . In such dangerous things as war, the errors which proceed from a spirit of benevolence are the worst. As the use of physical power to the utmost extent by no means excludes the cooperation of the intelligence, it follows that he who uses force unsparingly, without reference to the bloodshed involved, must obtain a superiority if his adversary uses less vigor in its application. . . .

To introduce into the philosophy of war itself a principle of moderation would be an absurdity.†

These basic principles of traditional warfare retain all of their validity in *modern warfare*.

Although violence is an unavoidable necessity in warfare, certain unnecessary violence ought to be rigorously

* In France during the Nazi occupation, members of the Resistance violated the rules of warfare. They knew they could not hide behind them, and they were perfectly aware of the risks to which they were exposing themselves. Their glory is to have calmly faced those risks with full knowledge of the consequences.

† Karl von Clausewitz, *On War*, trans. Col. J. J. Graham (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co.), I, 2-3.

banned. Interrogations in *modern warfare* should be conducted by specialists perfectly versed in the techniques to be employed.

The first condition for a quick and effective interrogation is to have interrogators who know what they can ask the terrorist under questioning. For this, it is first of all essential to place him precisely within the diagram of the organization to which he belongs. A profound knowledge of the organization is required. It is useless to ask a funds collector about caches of weapons or bombs. Every clandestine organization is strictly compartmented, and he would know nothing about them. To ask him would be a useless waste of time. On the other hand, he does know to whom he remits the funds and under what conditions. This is the only subject about which he should be questioned.

It is known that the ordinary terrorist operates as part of a three-man team; therefore he knows his comrade and his demi-cell superior. This is the only information he will be able to furnish, but he must give it quickly; otherwise, the individuals sought will have the time to disappear, the thread will be broken, and a lengthy search will quite often come to naught.

The interrogators must always strive not to injure the physical and moral integrity of individuals. Science can easily place at the army's disposition the means for obtaining what is sought.

But we must not trifle with our responsibilities. It is deceitful to permit artillery or aviation to bomb villages and slaughter women and children, while the real enemy usually escapes, and to refuse interrogation specialists the right to seize the truly guilty terrorist and spare the innocent.

Terrorism in the hands of our adversaries has become a formidable weapon of war that we can no longer permit ourselves to ignore. Tried out in Indochina and brought to

perfection in Algeria, it can lead to any boldness, even a direct attack on metropolitan France. Thanks to the Communist Party, which is already on the scene and is familiar with underground operations, it would encounter no great difficulty.

Even a band of gangsters, lacking any political ideology at all, but without scruples and determined to employ the same methods, could constitute a grave danger.

In the light of present events, we can imagine in its broad outlines the unfolding of future aggression:

A few organized and well-trained men of action will carry out a reign of terror in the big cities. If the goal pursued is only to strew the streets nightly with a certain number of anonymous corpses to terrorize the inhabitants, a specialized organization would have no difficulty, within the framework of existing laws, in escaping the pursuit of the police. The numerous attacks being committed nightly in our large cities, which are nothing other than a prelude to facilitating the creation and training of an important warfare organization, demonstrate in a tangible way the inadequacy of a traditional police force against modern terrorists. Whenever a broad attack is unfolded, the police run the risk of being quickly overwhelmed.

In the countryside, and particularly in the hilly regions such as the Massif Central, the Alps, or Brittany, the population has no permanent protection. Small bands could easily block traffic through difficult passes by killing the passengers of the first two or three automobiles. A few brutalities, such as savagely executed preventive assassinations in the surrounding villages, will cow the inhabitants into providing for the maintenance of the bands and will discourage them from giving useful information to the authorities.

Occasional police operations timidly carried out with inadequate forces will fail pitifully. These failures will en-

courage a goodly number of adventurers to team up with the original outlaws, who will rapidly develop into rebels.

In this fashion, immense zones will be practically abandoned to our adversaries and will be lost to our control. The way will be open to the guerrilla. With terrorism in the cities and guerrillas in the countryside, the war will have begun. This is the simple mechanism, now well known, which can at any instant be unleashed against us.

5. *Identifying the Adversary*

To carry out a war effectively, to win it, it is indispensable to identify the adversary exactly. This condition must be fulfilled so that our shots will strike home.

Formerly, this was a simple task. According to the period of our history, he was to be found on the other side of the Rhine or the other side of the Channel. He had his war aims, simple and precise, as we had ours. It would have been useless to attempt to convert him to our cause or to hope to cause him to give up the fight without having defeated him.

To gain a victory, the nation and its army put to work all material and moral resources. Any person who dealt with the enemy, or who favored his objectives in any way, was considered a traitor and was treated as such.

In *modern warfare*, the enemy is far more difficult to identify. No physical frontier separates the two camps. The line of demarcation between friend and foe passes through the very heart of the nation, through the same village, and sometimes divides the same family. It is a non-physical, often ideological boundary, which must however be expressly delineated if we want to reach the adversary and to defeat him.

Since *the military art is simply and completely one of action*, it is only when we have identified the enemy that the apparently complex problems posed to the army by *modern warfare* can be reduced to realistic proportions

and easily resolved. The criteria for arriving at such a point will be difficult to establish; however, a study of the causes of the war and the aims pursued by the adversary will permit us to discover them.

The period of preparation before the opening of hostilities generally takes place under cover of a legally established political party; our opponents can thus get themselves within our frontiers and under the protection of our laws. Covered by legality, they will strive to create a climate favorable to their cause within the country and abroad and to establish on our own territory the essential elements of their warfare organization.

The fact that *modern warfare* is not officially declared, that a state of war is not generally proclaimed, permits the adversary to continue to take advantage of peacetime legislation, to pursue his activities both openly and secretly. He will strive by every means to preserve the fiction of peace, which is so essential to the pursuit of his design.

Therefore, the surest means of unveiling the adversary is to declare a state of war at the earliest moment, at the very latest when the first symptoms of the struggle are revealed in political assassinations, terrorism, guerrilla activities, etc.

At this stage the preparation of the opponent will be quite well advanced and the danger very great; to minimize this would be a disastrous mistake. Henceforth, any party that has supported or continues to support the enemy shall be considered a party of the enemy.

The nation attacked must fall in behind the government and its army. An army can throw itself into a campaign only when it has the moral support of the nation; it is the nation's faithful reflection because it is composed of the nation's youth and because it carries within it the hopes of the nation. Its unquestioned actions should be praised by the nation to maintain the nobility of the just cause it has

been charged to make triumphant. The army, whose responsibility it is to do battle, must receive the unreserved, affectionate, and devoted support of the nation. Any propaganda tending to undermine its morale, causing it to doubt the necessity of its sacrifices, should be unmercifully repressed.

The army will then know where to strike. Any individual who, in any fashion whatsoever, favors the objectives of the enemy will be considered a traitor and treated as such.

In totalitarian countries, ideological boundaries are extended to the country's geographic limits, so that there may be no doubt as to the enemy to be struck. All enemies of the established power are eliminated or driven out of the national territory.

Although we should avoid these extreme measures, which are unquestionably incompatible with the ideals of liberty dear to us and to the civilization we are defending, we cannot, obviously, defeat an enemy we have not clearly identified.

We know that the *enemy* consists not of a few armed bands fighting on the ground, but of an organization that feeds him, informs him, and sustains his morale. This is a state of affairs that democracy tolerates within an attacked nation, but it enables the enemy to act secretly or openly in such a way that measures which might deal him a decisive blow are either never taken or are indefinitely delayed.

6. *Defense of the Territory*

Since the stake in *modern warfare* is the control of the populace, the first objective is to assure the people their protection by giving them the means of defending themselves, especially against terrorism.

We then have to create and train organizations capable of detecting the elements our enemies will strive to introduce into our territory preparatory to the open struggle.

Finally, if hostilities break out, if terrorism and guerrilla activity have established themselves over a large portion of our territory, we must combat them with the appropriate methods, which will be far more effective than those which would have been considered and used in peacetime.

THE INHABITANTS' ORGANIZATION

Military schools teaching classic doctrines of warfare rely upon a number of decision factors—the mission, the enemy, the terrain, and the resources.

But one factor that is essential to the conduct of *modern warfare* is omitted—the inhabitant.

The battlefield today is no longer restricted. It is limitless; it can encompass entire nations. The inhabitant in his home is the center of the conflict. Amidst the continuing movement of military actions, he is the stablest element. Like it or not, the two camps are compelled to make him participate in the combat; in a certain sense, he has become a combatant also. Therefore, it is essential to prepare

him for the role he will have to play and to enable him to fulfill it effectively on our side.

For the inhabitant to elude the threats of the enemy, to cease to be an isolated target that no police force can protect, we must have him participate in his own defense. To this end, we have him enter into a structured organization encompassing the entire population. No one shall be able to avoid this service, and each person at any moment will be subject to the orders of his civil or military superiors to participate in protective measures.

Control of the masses through a tight organization, often through several parallel organizations, is the master weapon of *modern warfare*. This is what permits the enemy to uncover quickly any hostile element within a subjugated population. Only when we have created a similar organization will we be able to discover, and as quickly eliminate, those individuals the enemy tries to introduce among us.

The creation of such an organization may run into serious difficulties, but they are not insurmountable if we firmly desire to succeed. There will be no lack of good will; danger will create it. The experience of the battle of Algiers provides us with a sound basis for this assumption.

First, we designate an energetic and intelligent man in each city who will, with one or more reliable assistants, build the projected organization with a minimum of help from the authorities.

The principle is very simple. The designated leader divides the city into districts, at the head of each of which he places a chief and two or three assistants. These, in turn, divide the district into sub-districts and designate a chief and several assistants for each of them. Finally, each building or group of houses receives a chief and two or three assistants who will be in direct contact with the populace.

Careful investigation is necessary before designating

members of the organization and to prevent failures. Nevertheless, making each member responsible for the designation and control of his immediate subordinates will permit rapid creation of the organization on a sound foundation.

In our overseas territories or during a period of crisis at home, when for a variety of reasons we may not be sure of the loyalty of the people—particularly if the enemy organization previously created is sufficiently strong to oblige the population to walk carefully—the problem will be more complex, since the inhabitants will reject any responsibility that might subject them to the adversary's retaliation.

In this case, the pyramid of our organization is created from the bottom up by the police forces charged with maintaining order. Mobile gendarmerie squadrons, with their accustomed police contacts with the people, will be especially qualified to perform this delicate task.

First, they conduct a careful census of the entire population. The basic leader of the organizational structure will be the head of the family. He is made responsible for all inhabitants of his apartment or house, and for keeping up to date the list established at the time of the census.

During the taking of the census, we designate at the next echelon a chief of a group of houses (or of a building, or a floor of a building), who will be responsible for a certain number of heads of family, four or five at most.

Finally, when the census is completed and a close relationship established with the population, chiefs of sub-districts will be designated. According to the way in which the city is divided up, it will be possible for a sub-district leader to be made responsible for some ten chiefs of house groups. Since this individual will play a key role, the district commander should appoint him and then only after careful investigation. The essential quality of a potential sub-district leader is that he have firm attachments in the

sub-district (a business or shop, affluence, a large family). That is, he should have a standard of living or family ties that it would be difficult for him to abandon.

There will be no structural echelon above the sub-district leader. His role is too important for him to be easily commanded, and he will be too vulnerable a target for the enemy. The organization will actually be a pyramid of which the sub-district leader will constitute the apex.

In case of war, a special civil and military organism is set up for an entire medium-sized city or for districts in the larger cities. Its essential role is to transmit orders to the sub-district leaders, to see to their execution, and to gather information the sub-district leaders will provide. Having permanent contact with the sub-district leaders, this special organism will ensure continuing and correct execution of instructions issued to the various echelons of the organization.

The population census will permit each inhabitant to be given a *census card*, one or two copies of which will remain in the possession of the forces of order.

The card will include a photograph of the individual, as well as, say, his house-group number (e.g., 3), the letter of the sub-district (B), the number of the district (2), and the letter designating the city (A). The result will constitute what amounts to a catalog number (A.2.B.3.), which will, in the course of frequent checks, enable us to keep tabs on each individual and on the ability of the leaders upon whom he depends.

This organization will permit the command to enlist the participation of the populace in its own protection. To a certain extent, it will be able to participate in the tasks of the forces of order and carry out simple police missions. Detection, surveillance, and occasionally the arrest of dangerous individuals will be managed without difficulty, and the transmission of instructions will always be easy and

quick. The organization will rapidly become one of the essential elements of the territorial command and will assume an ever increasing importance. A special office, which we shall call the *bureau of the inhabitants' organization and control*, will be necessary to monitor the organization's activity.

In case of emergency, this organism would be in a position to establish without delay very strict control over food supplies, animals, and all resources our adversaries could use against us. This organization will enable the precise identification of the outlaw: Any individual who is slow to establish himself and does not enter the organization would, in effect, be an outlaw.

A careful search of the population is necessary to find men capable of being leaders of the organization at its various echelons. The bulk of the population is by habit or tradition normally devoted to established authority and the forces of order. The people will be ready to help if we ask their aid, on the condition that we will at all times support and protect those who are on our side. This protection is one of the essential missions of the inhabitants' organization.

Good will is never lacking even in the most troubled of times. Indochina and, later, Algeria have amply proven this. But we ought never to forget that ambition has always been a powerful incentive for a young and dynamic elite that wishes to get out of its rut and arrive. It is largely to this youth that we must appeal. We must bind them to us and compensate services rendered according to their worth.

Finally, of course, we may always assure ourselves of their loyalty by placing them within an organization it will be difficult to leave once admitted.

This inhabitants' organization certainly runs counter to our traditional spirit of individualism and may promote

dangers to our liberties that we must not minimize. The analogy with certain totalitarian organizations will afford our adversaries easy opportunities to attack us.

But we cannot permit ourselves to be deluded. There is a fundamental difference. Our organization is a defensive one, the sole aim of which is to ensure the protection of the populace, particularly against the danger of terrorism. No individual entering it need abdicate a particle of his basic liberties; but in the face of a common enemy, each will give under discipline his total and unreserved assistance to his fellows and his superiors. Once the war is won or the danger has passed, our organization will have no reason to exist.

Abuses are always possible. The organization will have to be seriously controlled, so that it remains solely a means of protection against the external enemy and does not become a vehicle for internal political pressure. This cannot happen if it is created in a spirit of justice and if the burdens it necessitates are equitably shared among all the inhabitants of a given region, no matter what their social circumstances may be.

One should not lose sight of the fact that this is the sole means we have to assure the protection of peaceful citizens and to prevent terrorism from forcing them into a harsh and inhuman servitude.

Formerly, nations spent huge sums for the construction of fortifications designed to protect themselves against invasion. Today, the inhabitants' organization, the elite formation designed as a framework for protection and to give us information about the enemy's clandestine penetration of our territory, constitutes the modern means of defense against *modern warfare*.

Any country that does not create such an organization runs a permanent danger of being invaded. The financial outlays called for cannot be compared with those needed

for the construction of elaborate fortifications. We have no excuse if we do not create such an organization.

COUNTRYWIDE INTELLIGENCE

With a reliable intelligence service, we would be able to detect all infiltration attempts against our territory and to discover who are those indispensable to the enemy's preparation of his projected offensive action.

The inhabitants will know them, since they suffer terribly from their activities, but will not denounce these agents unless they can do so without risk. Fear of reprisal will always prevent them from communicating to us information they possess.

The inhabitants' organization, which in large measure assures their security, will therefore be an important organism for information. In its very creation, it passes the entire population through a sieve and learns the circumstances in which each person lives. Contacts are made, and a certain confidence in the forces of order established.

Then, frequent meetings of responsible leaders at various echelons will permit regular and frequent relations between the authorities and qualified representatives of the people. Much information will also be gathered, the source of which our adversaries will not succeed in discovering. We will thus have created an initial element of security and understanding.

We cannot hope to transform all the inhabitants into agents. But since *modern warfare* asserts its presence on the totality of the population, we have to be everywhere informed. Therefore, we must have a vast intelligence network, which ought to be set up, if possible, before the opening of hostilities.

During a period of crisis, we complain of not being better informed. We accuse the people unjustly of concealing the truth or of not giving us the information they

possess. And very often, because we have not prepared anything, we will be tempted to obtain by violence information that a well-organized service would have given us without difficulty.

Selective terrorism, as we have seen, will, even before the opening of hostilities, put an end to our regular intelligence agents. Leaders and small functionaries are its first victims. The threat of the enemy's warfare organization quickly condemns the population to silence. When hostilities begin, we shall be cut off precipitously from all sources of information if we have made no provision to guard against it.

Even before the inhabitants have been organized, we ought to give a portion of the populace the chance of informing us securely. The time is past when a specialized service could recruit a few agents haphazardly and from a quite special sector of society.

We have to have numerous and secretly established centers of accelerated training, where we will be able to train quickly a great number of inhabitants in the agent roles we shall ask them to play. Their training will be essentially practical: It will be limited to teaching them a few elementary procedures for transmitting simple information (telephone, letter box, dead-drop, etc.), which will be sufficient to ensure their protection.

We then distribute them throughout all phases of human activity—factories, yards, administrative offices, the large public services—everywhere people gather we will be present, thanks to them. We shall almost always be able to recruit them in the very circles of interest to us; if not, we shall get them jobs appropriate to their professional or vocational aptitudes that will serve them as cover.

These "benevolent" agents can give us information on their milieu and inform us of the agents the enemy attempts to infiltrate into the population—that is, such basic

activists as fund collectors, propagandists, strike leaders, etc., who usually constitute the first echelon of the opponent's organization. Working among them, often in their very midst, our agents can discover them without difficulty.

This intelligence network, despite its extent and the considerable number of agents it will put to work, can be created at little expense. Their employment itself will provide the agents with a steady income. Various premiums for production will usually be sufficient to sustain their enthusiasm.

Information is nothing in itself, particularly during a crisis, if it is not quickly exploited. Therefore, we must create an intelligence-action service capable of exploiting its own information in the shortest possible time.

Certain individuals of our broadly based intelligence system, after proving their exceptional qualities, will be able to enter the intelligence-action service. They ought to be capable of detecting, following, and sometimes even arresting the enemy agents they uncover.

But our best agents will be furnished to us by the enemy himself. During the course of interrogations, we should always bear in mind that the majority of individuals arrested, if we have enough flexibility, can change camp. Many among them have passed over to the service of the enemy only through duress and have been kept there solely by a continuing threat of blackmail. If we generously offer them another path with our protection, they will become our most faithful collaborators.

As for others, it will suffice to lead them to denounce openly members of the organization whom they know, particularly their superiors and their subordinates. From then on, they are no longer able to betray us and will collaborate with us if only to assure their own protection.

Finally, experience has demonstrated that, although

confessions and conversions may be difficult to obtain at lower echelons, they are, at a higher level, and especially among intellectuals, usually easy and quick.

It is thus that we shall recruit the basic agents of our *intelligence-action* service. Well trained by specialists of the forces of order, they will themselves be prepared to exploit their own information in the destruction of the opposing organization.

But, except for a few individuals capable of playing a double-agent role, profitable use of them is of short duration. We shall have to renew them frequently, particularly after all their information has been exploited.

This service should cooperate with all the elements charged with exploiting leads, be prepared to follow closely all police operations, and be *au courant* of all arrests so as to utilize to the maximum all recruitment possibilities.

A well-organized intelligence service can make us aware of the structure of the warfare organization our opponents seek to implant upon our territory.

The most effective solution would no doubt consist of destroying these opponents before they constitute a danger. However, if for various reasons—in general, political ones—we are not authorized to do this, we ought to observe their development closely so as to be in a position to arrest them the moment the order is given.

The best way to be well informed consists in introducing our own agents into the organization of the enemy and in corrupting his agents. This is a delicate task that only a few proven agents will be able to accomplish.

As the adversary's organization begins to expand, our opponents, working in an enemy country, will find that their freedom of action becomes more limited. They run into increasing difficulties as they recruit more and more persons; they are no longer able to exercise tight control

over all their agents. Then we will have the opportunities of introducing our own agents into their organization, and we ought to exploit them.

Here again, the best candidates will be furnished to us by the enemy himself. The security of a clandestine organization is assured by rigorous compartmentation. Personal contacts are, for reasons of security, rare at higher echelons. A well-trained intelligence-action service should be able to make frequent arrests of members of the enemy organization in utmost secrecy. We should try to make them pass quickly into our service, permitting them to remain within their own organization after having established a sure system of communications.

We should not underestimate our adversaries, nor should we overestimate them and attribute to them powers they do not possess. They, too, will always have innumerable difficulties to overcome. The thing that makes their task easy is the absence of a special service created to combat them, and the practically total freedom we permit them in the field of clandestinity.

If we prepare ourselves in peacetime to face *modern warfare*, if we provide the people with a means of defending themselves, if we take precautions to be informed at all times of the preparations and the intentions of our adversaries, then we shall have no difficulty in quickly taking the necessary action when the time comes to reduce our adversaries to impotence.

This capability will not go unnoticed; in itself, it may be sufficient to discourage any attempt at a trial of force and serve to maintain the peace. If, however, our adversaries should decide to pass over to open warfare, we would have at hand the means of crushing any enemy who attempts to carry the war onto our territory.

But if the measures described above are not adopted, our adversaries will be able to undertake an open struggle to

attain their final objective, which is *to overthrow the established authority and to replace it with their own system.*

Since it is the population that is at stake, the struggle will assume two aspects: Political—direct action on the population; and military—the struggle against the armed forces of the aggressor. Our adversaries will not open hostilities until a certain number of preliminary conditions have been realized. By that time their infiltration of our position will be profound and extensive. It will be possible to eradicate it only by powerful means, a firm intention to prevail, and a considerable investment in time.